

Message Text

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ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W
-----103405 081721Z /47
O 081633Z DEC 77 ZFF-4
FM AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 9858
INFO AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY GABORONE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO
AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

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EXDIS-HANDLE AS NODIS

BRUSSELS FOR THE SECRETARY

PARIS FOR DICK MOOSE

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PDEV, SF, RH
SUBJECT: RHODESIA: HAWKIN'S VIEWS ON INTERNAL SETTLEMENT

1. HAROLD HAWKINS ASKED TO SEE ME LATE DECEMBER 7. HIS PURPOSE WAS TO RELAY INFORMALLY A REACTION TO OUR POINTS ON CHIMOIO RAID (STATE 289251). HE MADE CLEAR THAT NO MESSAGE FROM SALISBURY PER SE WOULD BE FORTHCOMING, BUT BY WAY OF COMMENT, HE WENT OVER THE SAME POINTS HE MADE WHEN I CONVEYED THE DEPARTMENT'S VIEWS TO HIM ON DECEMBER 6 (PRETORIA 6645). IN ADDITION HE STRESSED THAT:
(A) THE CAMPS ATTACKED WERE NOT RPT NOT REFUGEE

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CAMPS AS MUZOREWA CLAIMED, BUT GUERRILLA CAMPS; AND (B) WOMEN AND YOUTHS WHO DIED IN ATTACK WERE NOT RPT NOT DEPENDENTS BUT GUERRILLA TRAINEES AS CAPTURED PHOTOS CLEARLY SHOW.

2. I TOOK OPPORTUNITY TO QUESTION HIM ABOUT THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT. IN RESPONSE TO MY QUESTION AS TO WHAT SMITH

HAD IN MIND WHEN HE SPOKE OF "MAJORITY RULE BASED ON ADULT SUFFRAGE," HAWKINS SAID THAT THIS MEANT ONE-MAN ONE-VOTE. I INQUIRED WHETHER THE VOTE WOULD BE LIMITED IN ANY WAY, SUCH AS THROUGH PROPERTY OR EDUCATIONAL REQUIREMENTS. HE WAS LESS CATEGORICAL IN HIS REPLY, SAYING THAT SOME PEOPLE MAY WANT TO PUT RESTRICTIONS BUT HE WAS IN FAVOR OF EVERYBODY HAVING THE VOTE. IN THIS CONNECTION, HE NOTED THAT MANY OF THE BLACKS IN RHODESIAN WHO DO NOT OWN PROPERTY AND HAVE VERY LITTLE, IF ANY, EDUCATION ARE AMONG THE MOST CONSERVATIVE PERSONS POLITICALLY AND IT WOULD BE IN THE INTEREST OF THE GOVERNMENT TO ALLOW THEM TO VOTE.

3. IN SMITH'S PLANS FOR CONSTITUTIONAL TALKS, HE SAID THAT THESE WOULD BEGIN TOMORROW, DECEMBER 9, WITH MUZOREWA, SITHOLE AND CHIRAU PARTICIPATING. ONE OF THE FIRST ITEMS TO BE CONSIDERED WILL BE WHETHER THE OTHER PARTICIPANTS WANT TO INVITE AN OUTSIDE CHAIRMAN. I ASKED WHETHER SMITH HAD ANYBODY PARTICULAR IN MIND AND WHAT THE REACTION OF THE BLACK LEADERS MIGHT BE. HE REPLIED THAT THE LOGICAL CHAIRMAN WOULD BE SOMEBODY FROM THE UK. IF SMITH HAD ANYBODY IN MIND, HE WAS NOT AWARE OF IT. HE HAD NO IDEA HOW THE BLACK MEMBERS WOULD REACT.

4. HAWKINS INDICATED THAT SMITH'S TIMETABLE WAS TO
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COMPLETE CONSTITUTIONAL TALKS BY THE END OF JANUARY OR EARLY FEBRUARY IF AT ALL POSSIBLE. BEYOND THAT HE HAD NO CLEAR PICTURE HOW THE PROCESS MIGHT PROCEED. IN RESPONSE TO MY QUESTION ABOUT BLOCKING MECHANISMS OR OTHER "SAFEGUARDS" TO PROTECT WHITE INTERESTS, HAWKINS SAID THAT SMITH WOULD LIKE TO HAVE A 1/3 BLOCKING MECHANISM IN THE PARLIAMENT, BUT IT WAS HIS IMPRESSION THAT SMITH WOULD NOT INSIST ON THIS LARGE A WHITE REPRESENTATION IF IT WERE AN IMPEDIMENT TO AGREEMENT. HE WOULD, HOWEVER, WANT TO HAVE A MEANINGFUL WHITE GROUP IN THE PARLIAMENT.

5. RECALLING THE BASIC ELEMENTS OF THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSAL, I ASKED HAWKINS WHAT PROSPECTS THERE ARE FOR SMITH ACCEPTING THESE AS THE BASIS FOR THE DISCUSSION WHICH IS TO OPEN TOMORROW. HAWKINS WOULD NOT GIVE A DIRECT RESPONSE. HE SAID THAT ALL ASPECTS WOULD NATURALLY COME UP FOR DISCUSSION. IT WAS HIS VIEW THAT ONE OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT NATIONALIST LEADERS (I.E. NKOMO) WOULD HAVE TO BE PERSUADED TO PARTICIPATE IN THE SETTLEMENT IF THERE WERE ANY CHANCE OF SUCCESS. HE NOTED THAT TWO OF NKOMO'S SALISBURY LIEUTENANTS (CHINAMANO AND CHAMBATI) WERE TRAVELING TO LONDON IN

THE NEXT DAY OR SO TO SPEAK TO NKOMO. (HE WAS UNDER THE IMPRESSION THAT NKOMO WOULD BE IN LONDON BY THIS WEEKEND.) HE ASSUMED THAT ONE OF THE POINTS THAT THE THREE WOULD DISCUSS IS NKOMO'S POSSIBLE PARTICIPATION IN THE SALISBURY DISCUSSIONS. IF NKOMO SHOWED ANY INTEREST IN TALKING TO A GOVERNMENT OFFICIAL, SMITH WAS PREPARED TO SEND A PERSON OF NKOMO'S CONFIDENCE TO SPEAK WITH HIM. HE MENTIONED THE NAME OF AN OFFICIAL CALLED ROBINSON, ON WHOM WE HAVE NO FURTHER PARTICULARS.

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6. I ASKED HAWKINS IF SMITH HAD ANY MAGIC FORMULA, ASSUMING NKOMO WERE WILLING TO PLAY BALL, FOR DECIDING WHICH OF THE BLACK LEADERS WOULD PLAY WHAT ROLE IN A FUTURE GOVERNMENT, OR WHETHER THIS WOULD BE LEFT TO BE DECIDED IN AN ELECTION. HAWKINS WAS VAGUE ABOUT THIS BUT SPECULATED THAT BISHOP MUZOREWA, BECAUSE OF HIS LACK OF EXECUTIVE ABILITY, MIGHT BE GIVEN THE PROTOCOLARY JOB OF STATE PRESIDENT. THE PM HE THOUGHT SHOULD BE SITHOLE, WHO IS THE MOST CAPABLE OF THE THREE AND WHO HAS A LARGER POPULAR FOLLOWING THAN

NKOMO, ALTHOUGH NOT AS LARGE AS SITHOLE HAD HOPED TO GAIN
BY THIS STAGE. THIS WOULD LEAVE NKOMO WITH THE ROLE OF
DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER.

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7. HAWKINS MADE CLEAR THAT SMITH WOULD BE WILLING
TO ACCOMMODATE SOME BLACK NATIONALIST FIGHTERS INTO
THE RHODESIAN ARMED FORCES, BUT IT WAS CLEAR FROM THE
WAY HE PUT THIS THAT ELEMENTS OF NKOMO'S RATHER THAN
MUGABE'S FORCES IS WHAT HE HAD IN MIND.

8. I ENDED THE CONVERSATION BY ASKING HOW REALISTIC
IT IS TO THINK IN TERMS OF A DIVISION OF POWER ALONG
THE LINES HE INDICATED. HAWKINS SHRUGGED HIS SHOULDERS.

9. COMMENT: IT IS HARD TO GAUGE HOW MUCH SIGNIFICANCE
TO ATTRIBUTE TO HAWKINS' OBSERVATIONS. OBVIOUSLY, SMITH WOULD
LIKE TO GET NKOMO INVOLVED AND ISOLATE MUGABE. PROBABLY THE MOST
IMPORTANT ASPECT TO WATCH IS WHETHER NKOMO AGREES TO
HAVE A DIALOGUE WITH ROBINSON AND/OR DECIDES TO PARTICIPATE
IN THE TALKS VIA CHINAMANO OR CHAMBATI. IT MIGHT ALSO
BE PRUDENT TO WATCH WHETHER TINY ROWLANDS IS MANEUVERING
ON THE LONDON SCENE AND INDEED WHAT HMG MIGHT DO IN THIS
PARTICULAR SET OF CIRCUMSTANCES.

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